l: Karsten--96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
352 (1928-29)

"The floor in a Jibaro house is the earth itself. No mats are used, but the natural floor is carefully kept clean by daily sweeping. This is all the more necessary as in a Jibaro house there are not only human, but also certain animal inmates. Thus the hens, although they are as a rule kept outside, make occasional visits in the house, and besides among the members of the family is generally found a tame paugi (Crax paugi) a trumpeter bird, or a parrot, who freely move about. In spite of this, to a stranger visiting a Jibaro house for the first time, it conveys on the whole the impression of cleanliness and sense of order, which are in fact among the characteristic qualities of the Jibaro Indians."

1: Karsten--96 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 352, 513 (1928-29)

"The benches, which at the same time serve the Jibaro Indians as sleeping places at night, are extremely simple and uncomfortable. The length is about one metre and a half, but twenty to thirty centimetres away from the rack is a cross-pole (pataki) on which the sleeping Indian leans his ankles. The bench has a slight downward slant, the upper edge of it being about thirty or forty, the lower end about twenty or twenty-five centimetres above the ground. The sleeping Indian may have a thin deer's skin under him, but frequently even this is lacking, nor has he any cover. Since however the nights are often chilly, a fire is kept burning all night under the cross-pole supporting the legs, so that the sleeper may keep his extremities warm (Pl. XXIV, 1). --Hammocks are not used by any Jibaro tribes.

There are very few other things in a Jibaro house which may pass as 'furniture'. Almost the only things which deserve this name are smaller benches of split bamboo (kutanga) and low round stools (chimbui) used by the men."

lt Karsten--98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
352 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian keeps his most important personal belongings--the newly-woven loin-cloth (itipi) which he uses at the great feasts, and his ornaments, especially the feather ornaments which are liable to be attacked by moth and other insects--in a special, big basket plaited of a certain liana and provided with a cover. This basket, called tukupi, is kept hanging from the ceiling by a liana, being lowered as occasion requires."

1: Karsten--98 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 342, 352 (1928-29)

"As to the houses of the CANELOS INDIANS (huasi), they differ from those of the Jibaros proper chiefly in that they are much smaller and that walls are usually lacking. These Indians have not the same interest in fortifying their houses as the Jibaros. In the interior of the house the sleeping benches are almost the only kind of furniture seen, but what at once attracts the attention in the houses of the Canelos Indians is the great number of all sorts of clay vessels which are arranged on shelves under the roof, many of them beautifully ornamented."

"One end of the house is used as living quarters for the women while the other end is occupied by the men. The beds of the men consist of square platforms of split bamboo elevated about 20 inches above the floor by means of four short uprights supporting cross-pieces. In front of this platform and at the same height a rack is made by placing a pole across two Y-shaped uprights. Directly in front of the bed platform and under this rack a fire is kept burning at night over which the sleepers toast their feet. The fires are built from radiating logs, the ends of which are pushed together as they are consumed (pl. 2). At each corner of the bed platform is an upright pole to which the platform is attached. These uprights extend 5 feet above the bed where they support a second platform of split bamboo the same size as the bed. This makes a cover for the bed and is utilized as a place for piling various odds and ends, such as bundles of tobacco, blowgun dart quivers, nijimanche bowls, empty gourds, shields, feather ornaments, etc.

The beds of the women are constructed in the same manner, excepting that walls of split bamboo are built around the four uprights, forming a cubicle and giving them a privacy which the men do not have. Also, the foot rack is absent from the women's bed. The small children sleep with the women, boys moving to the men's end of the house when about 7 years of age. When not in use for hunting purposes, the dogs are kept tied to the women's beds."

2: Stirling--90-91 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 352

"Around the walls at the women's end of the house, racks are constructed on which a hundred or more earthenware jars of all descriptions are stacked. Sitting in the middle of the floor between the two center posts are four or five large red jars, or mikas, covered by means of banana leaves lashed around the orifice. These contain the chewed manioc which is always kept on hand for returning hunters or visitors to the house. These are frequently raised from the ground on three sticks slanting inward, set at equal intervals as props under the swelling body of the jar. Each man of the house has his own special drinking bowl, the curaka having an especially large bowl a foot in diameter.

Here and there around the sides of the room at the men's end of the house long cords hang from the rafters, terminating in a num-[91]ber of wooden hooks from which are hung the majority of a man's possessions; his darts and poison, the latter being contained in a small leaf-covered pottery bowl, his gun (if he owns one), a net bag containing such personal odds and ends as combs, necklaces, and ear ornaments, achiote seeds, and other small objects. By the side of each bed there is generally a large gourd with a curved neck in which is a small round opening. These the women keep filled with water for drinking purposes or for washing the hands and face.

Against the upright posts of the house are lashed the war and hunting weapons; the lances, blowguns, fish spears, etc. The lance generally rests point down on a block of wood at the base of the post."

2: Stirling--91 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 152, 462

"Hanging from the uprights of the men's beds are their spinning outfits and stacked on the canopy above, when not in use, are the looms, for all of the Jivaro spinning and weaving is done by the men."

3: Simson--386 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 352

"The dwellings are vary spacious inside; and the even plaiting of the high pointed roof thatch gives the ceiling a pretty and finished aspect. Several families live together in one house, each in its special corner or portion, where it has its separate fire; the earthen pots and other cooking utensils being stored on a sort of tray of split bamboo suspended from above."

4: Up de Graff--205 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 352

"The only furniture is beds and meat-racks; the inhabitants live on the floor, squatted on their heels. The beds are made of split bamboo laths supported on posts of the same wood, the whole about six feet long, of which the last two feet are left open; they are some three feet wide, and are raised about eighteen inches from the ground. Each member of the family has his or her own bed. In the open space at the bottom of each bed are placed glowing embers which keep the sleeper's feet warm."

4: Up de Graff--205-206 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116. 352

"Hung round the house, suspended from the roof by [206] chambira cord are various bunches of bananas in different stages of ripeness, ears of corn, blow-guns, and spears. Tucked into the corners of the roof are stone implements, hand-looms, fire-making tools, and balls of cotton-yarn ready for weaving. Here and there hangs a basket made of bejuco (the local rattan, which grows in any size up to a foot in diameter) full of quivers, bamboo cases for blow-gun arrows, tubes of poison (carisas as the Incas say), partially woven cloth, paint-pots, small gourds full of fluffy cotton used on the arrows in place of feathers, and all the odds and ends of their simple household lives. In one corner a couple of monkeys and a turkey have been dropped, shot by the lord of the house, and packed to the settlement by one of his wives (no man will ever pack anything except his weapons or war and the chase; it is infra. dig.)."

12: Rivet--585[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 372

Around the post located at the focus of the ellipse near the women's door are found all the household utensils; the space between it and the door represents the kitchen. Here a sort of bamboo screen hangs from the roof, in which are placed the various culinary vessels. There are as many fires as families in the house. Each fire is made up of three big sticks of wood, 30 to 45 cm. in diameter and 3 to $3^{m}50$ long, placed at 120° angles from each other and converging at the same point. It is there that the pot is placed: as fast as the sticks of wood are consumed, they are pushed little by little toward the center (1).

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 386.

12: Rivet--585-586 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 534

The opposing post is a sort of clothes-rack for the men: it is there that they put their lances, hang up their snares and all their utensils and accessories of the hunt. There are also some smaller stakes driven into the ground here and there, on which the Jívaro man hangs his various possessions. Baskets which he has woven himself (changuina) hang from the roof, to which they are attached by lianas; his ceremonial clothes, the trinkets which constitute real wealth for him are carefully stored there. Near the men's door is likewise found the tunduli (fig. 11); this is a trunk of a tree similar to palo de balsa(Ochromia piscatoria) about 1^{m} 50 long [586] and 40 cm. in diameter, hollowed out from one end by the aid of hot stones. The end is then hermetically sealed with the aid of a big round piece of wood. The instrument, along one side of the cylinder, has a single opening of square form, or three or four circular openings, or perhaps two openings facing each other and resembling in form and position the sound-holes of a violin. The apparatus is placed horizontally between two posts, with the aid of tightly-stretched lianas attached to its extremities, where two ear-like projections serve for this purpose. Sometimes they put it in a vertical position, suspending it from a tree and fastening it below to a stake driven firmly into the ground (1). The sound is produced by hitting the cylinder hard near the openings with a stick of wood, one end of which is wrapped with cloth.

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--586-587 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
110, 352, 513

The beds are placed along the wall, the head backed up against it and the feet turned toward the center of the dwelling. The women's beds are found near their own door, the men's on each side of the opposite door, but a little nearer the short axis of the ellipse, always because of the fear of an attack. Each bed is made of a wooden frame, lifted 30 or 40 cm. from the ground by four legs, across which bamboo stalks split lengthwise are laid close together (fig. 12). This frame measures about 1^{m} 60 wide and 1^{m} 20 long. The result is that when the Indian lies down on it, his legs are completely off the bed. Therefore, about 25 or 30 cm. from the foot of the little bed, there is a horizontal bar, or patachi, placed on two little forked sticks, upon which they place their feet. Immediately in front of this bar, a fire is kept continually burning in order to warm the legs of the sleeper, and also, according to Reiss, to [587] keep away the mosquitoes with its smoke (1). Doubtless both reasons are good, for the mosquitoes are plentiful and the savage sleeps without cloth or covering.

The beds of the women are a little different. They are longer and do not have the patachi. In addition they have two lateral partitions of bamboo and at the foot a little curtain of some kind of material which protects them from being seen. In some houses, the individual curtains are replaced by a wall of bamboo about 2 meters high which runs in front of all the women's beds so that one can pass from one to the other without being seen from the interior of the room.

1. Reiss, op. cit., page 331.

The utensils and furniture of this modest interior are few in number. They consist of flat, oval, wooden vessels (batea), pots of all sizes for chicha, hollow bowls (piningas) and very light fired clay jars (ichingana).[588] painted bright red on the inside (fig. 15). Sometimes these objects have pretty designs in red, black and straw color (fig. 13). The piningas destined to hold guayusa, a beverage of which I shall speak presently, have a small prolongation on the bottom to hold the leaves of the plant for making the infusion (fig. 14).

I have still to mention the low wooden stools called kutanga and finally the various weapons and implements of work: gun, ax, machete, and fish-hooks bought from the whites; lances, blowguns, shields, quivers which I will describe later, the loom for weaving, the spindles formed by a chonta fiber with a round piece of coroso (Phytelephas macrocarpa) serving as a spindle whorl (fig. 8-10), flutes, drums, trumpets of deer horn, fans made of large feathers for kindling the fire, wicker baskets which the women use to carry home the fruits and vegetables on their backs, and finally, the toilet accessories, pieces of mirror, combs, paint flasks; the combs or indashi are very elegant (fig. 7-16), the teeth are made from wild cane fibers, held in place by two pairs of small wooden sticks placed crosswise; the whole is fastened by a cotton thread wrapped around the various parts, forming a regular and pleasing design. The paint flask (fig. 7-18) is an oval calabash, big as an orange, pierced at one end. A stick, closely fitted to the hole, functions as a stopper and a brush.

"The only noticeable difference between the two ends of the house consisted in the sleeping arrangements, which, in the case of the men, were simply low tables or platforms of split bamboo, (19) with a superimposed skeleton frame; while the women had covered booths or cubicles. When the regular accommodation of this kind was inadequate to the occasion, men, women, and children reposed in groups, scarce apart, on mats of cane or rush laid on the earth floor. Immediately before each one of these sleeping places a fire was kept burning all the time, day and night. In front of each platform, and at the same height, there was a heavy pole, fixed horizontally in two forked sticks, serving as a rest for the protruding feet of the sleepers, who seemed to delight in toasting them over the glowing embers, indifferent to the flames and sparks that leapt from a fresh blaze."

"19. Whiffen, op. cit., p. 47, reports that the Apaporis Indians make shelves or platforms on which they sleep."

18: Hermessen--442 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 352

"About the middle of the building, suspended from the roof-poles by cords of liana or strips of flexible bark, were trays for holding earthenware pots, bowls, and other household utensils; and fastened to the posts supporting the ridge-pole were woven cane baskets, containing the men's finery--necklaces of berries and seeds of various kinds, and of the bored canine teeth of monkeys (Cebus), and decorative tassels of the feathers of Cuvier's toucan (Ramphastus Cuvieri) and the iridescent wing-cases of certain beetles (Chrysophora chrysochlora and Euchroma gigantea). Hunting paraphernalia--quivers, poison-pots, etc., --were hung on the frames of the sleeping platforms, and blow-pipes were kept, for safety, tied against the main posts of the building."

"So simple are the arrangements of a Jivaro dwelling that it should be easy enough to describe them, yet I find myself at a loss to know how to start. I think it was the complete lack of most things which would be considered essential for moderate comfort that struck me most, as my gaze wandered from corner to corner of Kuashu's house, For instance, there were no articles of furniture except a few low stools used by the men. The plain earthen floor was not even strewn with mats of any kind, but was perfectly bare, just beaten down hard by the constant treading of human feet. The whole premises consisted of but a single room, oval in shape, with five sleeping platforms sticking out from the walls. We sampled these racks, called 'pierca' by the Indians. They were about four and a half feet long and struck us as being the acme of discomfort. They were raised something like a foot from the ground and had a slight downward slant. Some measure of resiliency was afforded by a covering of split cane; otherwise, the surface felt like a stiff board under one's back. Kuashu's rack boasted of a deer's skin, but the remainder were all plain. The width of each varied according to the number of people it accommodated. Twelve or sixteen inches away from the base of the rack was a cross-pole (patage), which caught the sleeper under his ankles and below this, on the floor, a fire burned constantly to warm the extremities of those who made use of the bed at night. Alongside of each rack were one or two vertical poles carrying bunches of [156]wild cotton, a spindle and a ball of thread. A wicker basket was also suspended

from the roof containing all the worldly possessions of its owner. The spear and blow-gun belonging to the same man were likewise placed handy for immediate use.

In the centre of the floor stood a large earthen pot propped up on sticks. It contained the family supply of nija-manchi, an intoxicating beverage prepared from the root of the yuca and consumed in great quantities by the Indians. A tundai, or signal drum, hung in one corner from a cross-pole."

25. Vigna--41[4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 352

The beds, made of logs and bamboo-cane, are along the walls. Near the bed there are a rifle and a bag containing the toilet articles of the man: that is, achiote, mirror, cotton, and often needles, powder and ammunition. In the center of the house is the "Tunduli", a thick hollow tree trunk which produces a hoarse sound on being struck. With the appropriate blows, they summon the master from afar, they announce war, they communicate the most salient news, they warn of the arrival of some stranger, and, to the measured beat of the Tunduli, they dance and celebrate fiestas. The sound of the tunduli is heard sometimes at ten and fifteen kilometers distance. The other furnishings of the house are a rudimentary loom, blowgun, and "cután" or wooden seat for the head of the house. Strangers or visitors may not sit on the cután. [KS: Wooden seat used by head of the house.] Before sitting on one of the beds, they must wait, standing near the entrance, to talk with the owner. It is a sign of distinction for a visitor to be offered the "cután" by his host.

There is a minor difference between the bed of the man and the woman; the bed of the latter has walls formed of leaves or branches at its sides.

Along the wall are the beds, separated from each other by a smaller or larger interspace. According to my white informants, each bed is said to be used by one family. In the sketch (Fig. 1 D) I have drawn in the arrangement of the beds in the house of the Curaca Laichape. These beds are noteworthy in one respect: they do not allow space for the entire body. In Fig. 2 I have sketched such a bed. Four upright posts (a) are sunk into the floor in a square so that they protrude about one meter. Two and two posts are connected by cross-pieces (b) that are inside the square and parallel to the wall. The cross-beam close to the wall is a little higher than the cross-beam at the other end. Longitudinal beams (c) are placed on top of the cross-beams, and the former constitute the base for a layer of finely-split bamboo (d) which extends somewhat upward along the back wall. [53] This split bamboo is a very elastic foundation. Since the bed is somewhat sloping from the head down to the foot end, another wooden cross-beam (g) is placed at the foot end so that the sleeping person would not slide down the bed. This bed has a length of less than one meter, and a grownup person can not stretch out on it. There are therefore, in front of the bed, two fork-shaped posts (e), connected by a cross-beam (f) on which the feet are to rest. Moreover, in front of each one of these beds there are three pieces of round firewood (h) which are kept glimmering all day long by having them extend at one end to the fireplace. In daytime, this glowing wood is used for the preparation of the meals, while at night it will warm the feet of the sleepers. The natives seem to use a special type of firewood; for the wood was precisely round and

of the same thickness in all the houses which I visited. The sides of the beds are covered - 50 - 60 cm. upward from the bamboo foundation - with cloth or with wide pieces of flat tree bark and bamboo. This is frequently done in the front, too, leaving an entrance only in the middle. The cubicles thus formed and enclosed on each side are at any rate used for the children. There are certain variations, especially with regard to the width of the beds.

26: Brüning--53 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 352

In the Aguaruna houses there may be found a great number of low seats, made of light, perhaps Balsa, wood. They occur in a variety of shapes, but I found the one sketched in my drawing the most common one. The one shown in Fig. 3 requires the most labor. All of the seats are made out of one piece of wood. The specimen sketched here had a height of 25 cm. On top there was a circular seat (38 cm. in diameter), slightly carved out in the center. This seat had a short handle. From the top downward the diameter of the wooden block is gradually reduced, and the stem takes on a square shape. At the bottom two longer strips of wood remain and serve as base. These seats are highly uncomfortable for somebody with long legs and not used to this type of seating accomodation, which forces the knees up almost to the height of the chin. A certain training is required if one wants to get up gracefully from this seat after the knees have become numb.

26: Brüning--53
116, 352

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

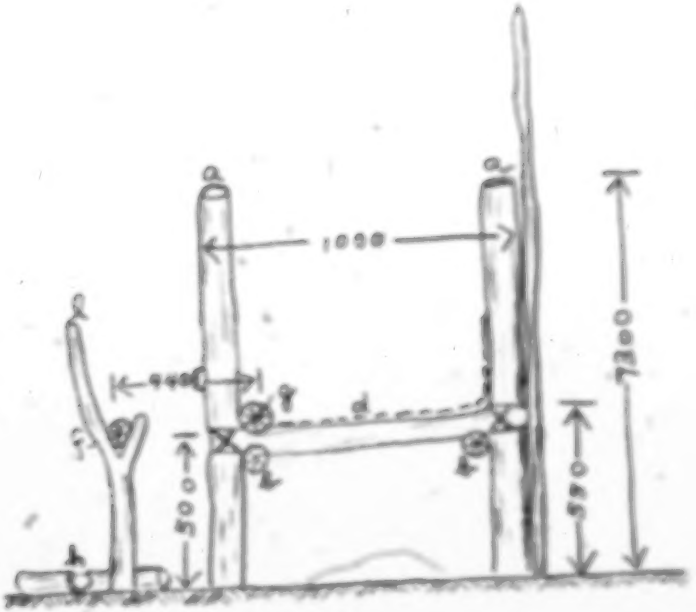
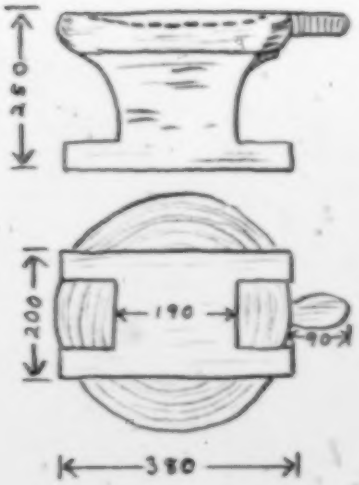


Figure 2. Cross-section of a Bed.



[Translator's comment: Figure 3 is not numbered. The caption should read: Cross-section and Bird's-eye View of a Seat.]

The free spaces between the beds are occupied with square stands designed for storing various utensils, chiefly pots and bowls. One of the semi-circular ends of the house seems to be the special reserve for the women. Here are a great number of these stands, all covered with earthenware, as one may see [54] on Illustration number 2. These stands are made or 4 upright posts, each one approximately two meters long. On top there is a bamboo platform with the pots. Around the upright beam which forms the center of the semicircle there is the Indians' greatest treasure: many pots with what the whites call Masato (Nijamantši in the Aguaruna language), a brew made out of the yucca root; occasionally one may find there pots containing dishes made in advance. On one occasion I was served cold monkey-soup out of one of these pots, and this as a supplement to the regular meal.

Moreover, there are stands for the weapons, blowguns, spears, rifles and carbines, all set up upright.

This takes care of the most conspicuous household objects. I shall describe some of the smaller utensils later on as the opportunity arises. I shall report now on a few visits which I made in various houses. I shall describe my general impressions and, at the same time, the everyday life of the Indians.

28: Tessman--349-350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 513

The bed (pîaka) of the Chiwaros is a plank bed on four legs, as shown on Plate 60, Fig. 4. The beds are placed with their longitudinal sides along the wall. A bed consists of pieces of Iriartea-wood that are placed cross-wise. The bed has a long but narrow surface. The side toward the wall (where the sleepers have their heads) is raised considerably so that the bed slopes down to the front. [350] In front of the bed are two forked posts. One prong of the fork is higher than the other. When they go to bed, the Chiwaros place the head toward the wall and the feet over the crossbeam that connects the two forked posts. The edge of the bed is under the knees. Cf. cartogram no. 9. Between the foot-support and the bed there are small fires burning which keep their legs warm. Young unmarried people have special beds which are covered with a plaited mat. Sucking infants sleep in a hammock (tangáma) made of Ficus fiber. Occasionally they are attached to one of the prongs of the foot rest uprights and extended to the prong of another such upright.

28: Tessman--350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 562

Stools, tšimpúi, of the shape shown on Plate 59, Fig. 12 are chiefly used by men; the stools for women are lower. The various shapes of women's stools are shown on Plate 59, Figs. 11 and 14.

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
546 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[721] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro
steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war
whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization
of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beauti-
fully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows
of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the
rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be
considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly
fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor
and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits
two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center
of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a
young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a
sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm
trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the
secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
● 352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously,

/331 cont./

354 [825] almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes, which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the 342 [353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
• 352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch 342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night, are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells, [353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of which is hung his private property, in the case of women cosmetic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully 342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such 356 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean. When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing 291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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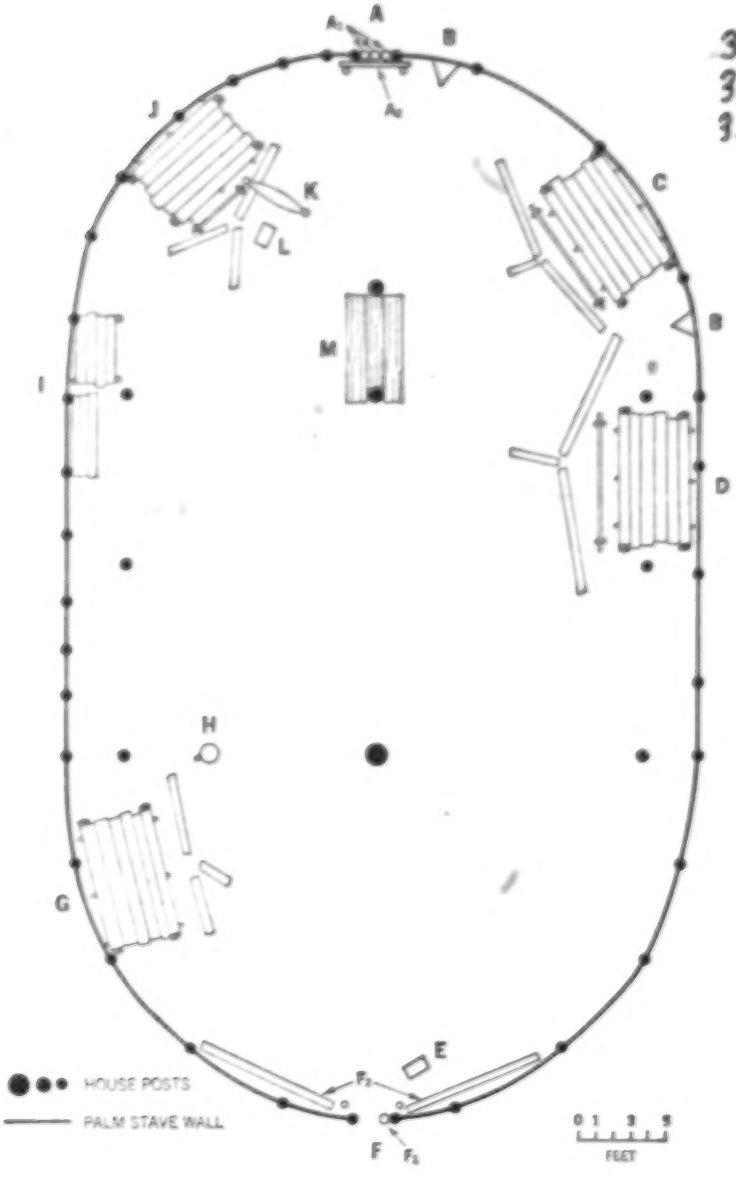

/p. 42/

FIGURE 1

Floor plan of a representative house (upper Río Cangaimi, 1957)

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[415]
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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutaṇä*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpúi*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*taŋamašä*), and the women's (*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

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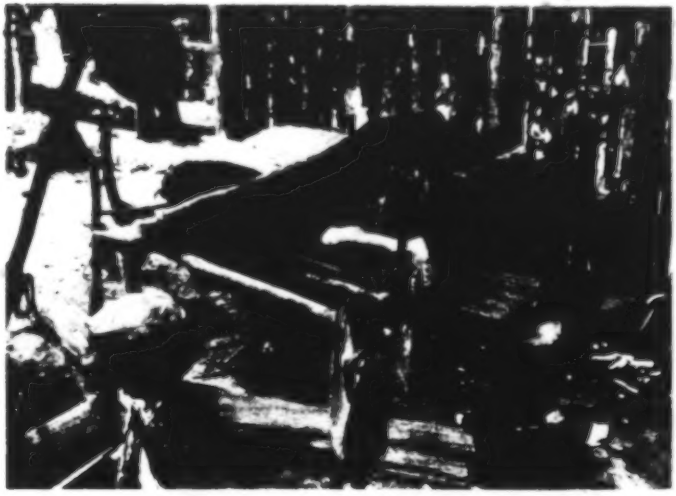

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10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).